War

166 no bride price or come for some other cause; and those who have come to "work in the gardens" and have settled in the kampong.

166 425 624 This last category accounts for the many outside couples. Thus I discovered that they can sell land to people from outside, with the consent of the tuan tanah, who, so far as the assistant knows, never makes any trouble over this. The person merely informs the tuan tanah that from now on the tribute from his field such and such will be paid by so and so. There are families which have sold all of their land, but this is rare. They usually sell a part of the lands. What happens is that once a new garden is laid out (and most of the gardens here are in the star shaped pattern) and the tuan tanah has divided the wedges among the families, the assigned section belongs to the family until or unless it is abandoned, whereupon the claim lapses and it is given to another family. The family can sell its garden land (so assigned) to anyone, with notification given to the tuan tanah. The outside people are those who have bought land here, and have come to live here. Thus the assistant, whose family land is in Pau, has bought land in Tjantjar and has moved there.

425 624 This led to a discussion of the division of land. Only when a new garden is laid out is the lodok pole set up. The tuan tanah stands here when he divides the wedges. Each family must get a slice, or perhaps if there are too many families and thus the wedges would be too small, some families await their turn when a new garden is laid out. Once the lodok is used, it stands until it falls. Then a stone is placed at the navel, and there each year the rites of the garden are held.

[565] [634] [661] Then came the "low-down" about the radja. I asked how then do the kraeng get land? Do they

We

425 624 565 634 661 stand with the families and get a share, like any ordinary person? This led to the usual wild look and obvious reluctance. Then he came through. The truth is that the kraeng don't get their land directly, but rather, when a new garden is laid out, the radja just says, I'll take this part. It may be a quarter or even half of the pie. And he pays nothing. Then he gives pieces of the land so requisitioned to members of "his family," of whom there are hundreds, and more swarm out of Todo and Pongkor all the time. They pay nothing. Now I see why the kraeng yesterday said that a privilege of the kraeng is to get land anywhere in Manggarai. This seems to be a real burden, and is at least a racket. I can see where, if there is enough open land, a kraeng or anyone else might be given pieces; but the chiseling evidently comes from the fact that they get cleared and nicely laid out land after a lot of hard work has been done on it.

And now I can see perhaps why the priest in Larantuka said that the tuan tanah and the Radja work together (though this seems to be a strange combination, it might take place in Larantuka because the Radja is a kind of big tuan tanah himself and is part of the whole native tuan tanah system; i.e., he is the Kottang of the state), and as soon as the poor folk have cleared the land, the radja steps in and says, "I'll have this piece," and takes the best part. Perhaps the priest linked the tuan [578] tanah in here because he naturally hates the tuan tanah, who are anchors of whatever paganism is left. This is why I'd like to know here whether the tuan tanah likes the kraeng and the radja and dalu (but the latter is a "different breed") or whether he grudgingly gives what he must.

We In regard to the Radja and the land matter,
425 I finally got it straight. The radja and kraeng
565 used to take what they wanted, worked or un-
634 worked. Also, they used to make the lampang
661 work the unworked fields and gardens. Starting
466 about two years ago there has been no more free
178 labor, but the radja and the kraeng must pay wages. If anyone resisted before, he and the whole family could be enslaved instantly. Even now, they can generally get undeveloped land for the asking when a new field is laid out, but they must work it themselves or pay laborers wages. They do not need to pay for undeveloped fields, any more than the local folk have to pay for them. But other aliens, like the assistant here, must buy such land. If the radja or kraeng wants to obtain developed land today, he must pay for the labor done on it. Even the last remaining privilege, to ask and get a piece of undeveloped land, is in danger. A year ago, in Dalong, the folk took back from the radja a piece of land that had been given him and that he had worked. Thus the old privileges die under merdeka.

565 All of the above information about the dalu
624 being here only since 1880 is wrong. Coolhaas 1
167 has reported that dalu were in Manggarai in
174 the eighteenth century. Their origin is unknown. The assistant says that they all came from overseas. The gelarang were merely tuan tanah. The kraeng were among the dalu. They were originally the dalu of the Todo-Pongkor area. Thus the dalu have been here for a long time. They were evidently pro-consuls of Bima and Makassar (which fought long over Manggarai). The pastor says that he thinks some of them were originally locals who were elevated, and others came from the outside. The assistant insists that their family trees are different from those of the gelarang. Maybe they represent a partly elevated gelarang and partly kraeng from Todo-

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

War

304 say of such people that they "grew up in school."
178 This is still preserved by almost all others.
562 It must be done before marriage. Thus, the
881 kraeng did not have his teeth filed until he was twenty-five years old, just before marriage. Usually the teeth filing takes place much earlier, especially for the girls, who have theirs filed at about fourteen years. Formerly they filed the teeth down to the gums of both upper and lower teeth. Many of the people here still do this (I saw one young girl with only stumps left for teeth). The ordinary people do the filing. They used a stone before, but now they use an iron file. (I note that these people take to new tools very fast. They use all sorts at once. This means that there are no taboos on new techniques, and this should help.) Nowadays most people merely file their teeth even. And there is no feast.

There never was any cutting here.

439 Imports here include cloth, salt, tobacco and fish. Exports include stock, rattan and a few other wild products. There was not much business of this sort and never was. There are no markets. Formerly there was no money. Now it is plentiful. Formerly barter was the
436 only means of trade. Note: in 1942 the Dutch called in all silver and gave out only paper money. The Japanese thus easily took all the silver (the Dutch were invariably mistaken).

493 There are no cars here. There are three people in all Manggarai who could drive a car. None of these is here.

There is very little traveling done by car. The only autos are those of the traders (Chinese) and the government. Fifty per cent of the population have never ridden in an automobile.

178 The main change here is that formerly no out-
425 sider could buy land in the kampong. Now an

War

178 425 outsider can buy land in the kampong. Also, the kraeng privileges have been cut sharply. In [422] regard to property in houses, things have remained the same except for the new private houses (see below). There has been no change in the personal articles and ceremonial objects.

423 428 562 The land is family-owned, but there are some individual pieces (for example, the assistant's). The kampong has eminent domain, and it is a tuan tanah's. When an old man dies, the land is divided, but the eldest son gets his choice and the larger share. If there is only one garden, he gets it. But generally each son gets a share. Women get no land. Personal effects are divided. They work the land as a family unit until the old man dies.

423 178 Houses which are large are the property of the inhabitants, who build them. Thus ownership is communal. But a great change has taken place since they have been building single houses, e.g., the assistant's. The eldest son gets this new kind, after all others have married off.

574 I note the remarkable ease of sleeping in houses here. There is no fuss to put someone up. Thus the assistant slept in the tuan tanah's house last night in Veol, and tonight the tuan tanah will sleep in his house at Pau (they are going to talk much more, and he promised the tuan tanah some palm wine for which I paid).

462 As far as specialization goes, the women make mats, do the cooking, wash clothes, fetch water, do the gardening, sew, and take care of the children. They also care for the fowls and pigs. There is not a single sewing machine here. The women also pound grain.

Men plait songko, work in the gardens, carry on trade, gather wood, and do heavy work around the house, and care for buffaloes and horses